5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

immense impact of the town. They live in small villages made up of relations and fellow villagers. They even club together, subscribing to a common fund to receive their fellows from the Fleuve, and as far as work is concerned they virtually monopolise certain jobs such as bootboys, waiters, and newspaper sellers. This maintenance of tribal cohesion is a difficult task in this city of French creation, where a new community of Dakarois is rapidly coming into existence.

An important factor in the breakdown of tribal ties has been the creation of political parties and the creation of a new political élite that thinks in national terms. Experience in Africa has shown, however, that this can [illegible] two ways, for many political parties are in effect organisations intended to defend ethnic interests. Senegalese politics have on the whole been remarkably free from tribalism, though Senghor did in fact achieve much of his success in the early days of the *B.D.S.* though the emphasis he laid on ethnic considerations in the organisations of his party, and certainly there have existed specifically regional and ethnic parties like *Le Mouvement Démocratique Casamançais* and the *Union Générale de la Vallée du Fleuve.* But, as Kenneth Robinson pointed out in his study of Senegalese politics in *Five Elections in Africa*, these ethnic and regional aspects were compensated for by the federal aspect of the major party, *Le Bloc Démocratique Sénégalais.* In 1954, in fact, all ethnic and regional sub-sections of the *B.D.S.* were abolished and individual membership was insisted on. But though this led to the breaking-away of certain elements in the Casamance, it would be fair to say that the party has been much less dominated by those regional differences that normally influence political parties in West Africa. Nevertheless, as Robinson found in the 1957 election, there were a number of constituencies where ethnic rivalries were more important than political issues. At Linguère, a single member constituency, the population was divided between Fula and Wolof in the proportion of three to two. When the sitting member, a Fula, was

[i.e., The Moors and Toucouleurs in Dakar--Analyst]

17: Mercier--15 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/18 cont./

and Urbanization in Africa, Abidjan, 1954). 369x 565 [113]

tendentially have the character of social classes. They are distinguished by the living standard and way of life and by a certain number of specific behaviors, but the characteristics of colonial society, on the one hand, and, on the other, the persistence of traditional values do not permit them to assume the character of clear-cut classes." We shall return to this account, where we noted the absence of close correlations between socio-occupational category, ethnic group, and religion, but, on the other hand, the existence of very clear correlations between the socio-occupational categories and facts such as level of French studies, the importance of intermarriages between different ethnic groups, that of the role played by the groupings and associations of a new type (political parties, syndicates, etc.). Also the ethnic affiliation plays a role of variable importance, although it is very rarely obliterated completely. [182]●

4. The new structures which characterize the towns give a large place to grouping of a political, syndical, cultural, sportive, etc. order. We shall not discuss this problem here. It must be noted, however, that in Dakar the importance of some of them is considerably reinforced by the function that Dakar performs as the federal capital; it is valid for the syndicates and to a lesser degree for the political parties. 369x 571

5. Finally, an important fact in every colonial town, but particularly in Dakar is the juxtaposition of racially and culturally different groups. For Dakar, the European population undoubtedly represents 10% of the total population (2), and 369x 563 162

2. In the census of the non-autochthonous population of 1951, close to 22,000.

17: Mercier--40 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/33 cont./ 369* 592
and then four adults living on one salary, and subsequently four adults living on two salaries.

G. -- One sees by these examples how a "snapshot" of the situation only furnishes an approximate picture of the totality of the facts. The preceding pages have shown, however, that it does draw an outline of it; it is therefore possible to put down some remarks in the guise of conclusions.

1. The situation is not fixed. The restricted family clearly tends to constitute a milieu of life more closed than [594] in the traditional framework, and to coincide with the household. But this tendency, even in the most Westernized categories, is far from having caused the traditional forms to retreat everywhere. The obligations founded on kinship in the [182] broad sense are still strongly felt. But one has seen that a [602] first step toward their gradual weakening has already been made with the transformation of the character of the de facto groupings (extent, structure, etc.). Doubtlessly for a long time yet there will continue to be a gap between the values recognized by the members of these societies and the new structures born out of the transformations imposed from the outside. As for the structure of the restricted family, the proportion of polygamists, for all the cases studied, seems to be [595] at the average level which it attains in a demographically normal population. A regression of polygamy, however, appears to have started in the categories which represent a new type of elite with Western instruction.

2. The variations in the extent and the structure of both the broad group of relatives and the restricted family are not linked in a constant manner to the differences in living standard. [182] The situations /34/ can be extremely variable with equal resources (1). The relation is well marked (2) only in the

1. As the investigations on family budgets conducted in Thiès have indeed shown.

17: Mercier--41 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/34 cont./ 369x

2. And much less, as we have seen, with regard to the facts of "familial parasitism."

categories that on the whole have the same way of life. The distinction which has imposed itself between two groups of categories corresponds to this last fact. The boundary, however, is unequally clear, depending on the phenomena considered. One finds the problem of cultural persistences cutting across the changes of structure and way of life in the course of consolidation.

3. The at least partial entry into the western "technical milieu" appears to be a factor of transformation much less important than schooling. The majority of the specialized workers are still in the most traditionalist group, with only the master workmen approaching, in certain forms of their average behavior, an intermediate position. The level of schooling itself, however, is still only weakly decisive, except in the category of members of the teaching and intellectual professions, etc. The relation between level of studies and the way of life, even though it tends to assert itself, is not direct in every case. [182]

III

The group of relatives no longer coincides with the local unit. Neither the quarter, the sector, the block, nor in certain cases the "compound" are ethnically homogeneous any longer. In this case, what is the social role of the neighborhood? Under what conditions does it create relationships of a new type which are to be integrated into the new urban "pattern"? The groups of friends were formed essentially in the framework of the age class (3) as a consequence of the ethnic group (and often of the group of relatives in the broad sense). 369x 621 571 [563]

3. See, for example, G. Balandier and P. Mercier, op. cit.

17: Mercier--48 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/39 cont./

unequally. The scrutiny of the data concerning the neighborhood factor furnished by this same investigation is not finished; the first results seem to confirm those obtained in our monographic investigations: it in itself only plays a reduced role, only reinforcing the ties of some other origin. On the contrary, memberships in the same occupational milieu, in the same association, syndical, cultural, sportive, etc. (1), are important [572]

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1. The study of the role of associations is reserved for another work.

factors in the formation of groups of friends. Finally, let us add that the average behaviors of ethnic groups are extremely variable. Their distribution, however, does not coincide exactly with the one that we have indicated in the domain of interethnic marriages. Only groups among whom the importance of the ethnic factor is clearly greater than the average, the Moors, the Peul, the Toucouleur, the Sarakolé; on the other hand it is slightly less among the Wolof and the Bambara, average among the Sérère, the Diola, the Soussou, the Cape Verdeans. The partial divergences between these two orders of data (2) pose in themselves a problem which will be the

2. Cf. II, E, 4.

subject of subsequent investigations.

We have studied essentially the permanent population of the town, moreover unequally stabilized. It remains to complete these data by the examination of the problems posed by the seasonal population, and, more generally, by the population without fixed residence. It is in this minority that one can really speak of facts of detribalization, in the sense of pure deterioration of the former social frameworks. On the contrary, we [182]

/39 cont./
have seen that in the permanent population the kinship structures and ethnic membership (3) played a considerable

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[571]
[563]

> 3. It would also be necessary to examine the role played by the associations formed on an ethnic or regional basis.

role. Certainly, a new equilibrium has not been achieved everywhere, and we have noted that the kinship structures were not always adapted to the conditions of urban life. But one is far from dealing with an amorphous mass. Where one can speak /40/ of detribalization, among the elites of a new type, it is not in a purely negative sense. The crisis phase of traditional institutions has not completely passed. But the phase of reconstruction of institutions has begun; some average behavior which implies a certain equilibrium in new frameworks can already be disclosed. /Figs. 1-4 appear here./

/90 cont./

369 563 [161] As one may well imagine, the most populated zones are the ones located near the railroad workshops; Derrière-la-voie-ferrée, Randoulène, and Bambara have densities from 102 to 125 inhabitants per hectare (14). These quarters are

14. In French Equatorial Africa, in the quarters of Brazzaville (Poto-Poto and Bacongo), it reaches 100 inhabitants per hectare. Information taken from Documents and Statistics, Ministry of the F. O. M., No. XI, March 1954, p. 25.

at the same time the places of the most complete intermingling; almost 40% of the population is made up of elements foreign to the region of Thiès where Wolof and Sérère live.

We quote these figures, of course, in order to pose the problem of contacts between the various ethnic groups and of the relations between individuals.

369 563 573 Nevertheless, we should set apart the Moor group, whose conduct clearly differs from that of its colored neighbors. The Moors do not have any relations with the Blacks, except for purely commercial reasons. They meet only among themselves, travel only accompanied by one of their fellows. Their sobriety, their sense of thrift (often carried to excess), and their frigid calm estrange them from the often expansive temperament of the Blacks. Perhaps a certain feeling of superiority toward the population which they dominated before our arrival is the origin of this profound gap between people of identical material circumstances.

369 563 /91/ The Black masses seem at first estimate to form a homogeneous whole. Nevertheless, among the elements which compose it there exist traditional distinctions of customary, ethnic, and religious origin, and social distinctions linked to recent structures: a new hierarchy in the [182]

/91 cont./

369 industrial enterprises and in the public function. Even in a
563 professional category a certain hierarchy of a traditional
[182] order survives and is always respected. In the workshops of
[565] the Dakar-Niger, for example, the higher supervisory staffs
[466] are made up of workers belonging to superior castes: free men, descendants of chiefs' families... Operatives coming from families of griots or former captives, in spite of their skill at the work and their training, would have only very weak authority over their subordinates.

[578] The animosities between individuals belonging to formerly hostile groups or to opposed religious sects may sometimes reappear in the course of contacts between individuals or groups of individuals. Along the same line
[466] of thought, a certain favoritism may creep into the relations between foreman and subordinates belonging to the same ethnic category or the same religion.

369 Within each ethnic minority scattered through the
563 city spontaneous associations spring up, led by the oldest
573 among them. These friendly groups meet periodically. They are at the bottom of the mutual aid to the newcomer, to the workman who lives temporarily without funds in the escale. Each of these gatherings is at the same time the occasion for "folkloristic" celebrations, reminding the members of the group of their customs and their country of origin.

369 The traditions which have been able to survive by
177 being adapted to the new conditions of the society lose
563 their importance to a certain extent in contact with new ideas and Western influence. We have already remarked that the notion of ethnic group is rapidly obliterated when the individual is transplanted for a long time in a city very far from his natal village. The family ties, and above all the
[593] authority of the head of the family over each of its members, become extremely loose in the city. We see a breaking up of the subordination that subjected each of the members of a family to the paternal authority. The child is no longer compelled to adopt the trade of his father; he may choose the work that he thinks will suit him. The young girl is
[584] rapidly becoming emancipated, and rare are the Thiès

/91 cont./

369 families in which the father imposes on the child the spouse
177 of his choice. The spread of the teaching of the Moslem and
563 Christian religions count for much in this loosening of the
[584] too confining ties of family tradition. This breaking up of
[593] ancient, too narrow social structures is not a strictly /92/
[182] urban phenomenon; it also occurs in the countryside, but with less force and with a certain delay.

369 The presence of the industrial bloc of the Dakar-Niger,
565 on the other hand, has had as an effect the formation of a
178 working class, which is a specifically urban phenomenon. Although the ancient system of castes does exist in human contacts, that of social class is little by little being substituted for it. In sum, there actually exists a superposition of the two systems, but the pre-eminence of the second is al-
[177] ready being affirmed. Through daily contacts and the rapid
[467] diffusion of social ideas coming from the West, the mass of
[474] workers is organized, it is grouped by syndicates, it has set up consumer co-operatives. Because of the great number of the members of this worker group, the workshops of the Dakar-Niger and, through repercussion, the city of Thiès itself have become the most active and the busiest centers of French West Africa. The strike that in 1948 paralyzed
[468] railroad traffic on the two lines (Dakar-Bamako and Dakar--Saint-Louis) for several months is certainly proof of the influence of a powerful and organized grouping, and a typical urban phenomenon.

369 Thus there exists in Thiès a somewhat special social
563 climate that sometimes makes the relations between Whites
578 and Blacks strained. Chiefly during these periods of social crises. But these tensions are always temporary and automatically disappear as soon as the conflict is settled.

369 A much more important problem that seems general
161 in all of the cities of Black Africa is that of the too rapid, if not excessive, swelling of the urban population. We have
[162] seen that the population of Thiès has almost doubled from 1945 (24,000 inhabitants) to 1953 (40,000 inhabitants). Dakar, Conakry, and Abidjan have grown in the same proportions.